



Extremism in the Name of Religion: The Violent Record of the Kahane Movement and its Offshoots (1995)

This report is an update of the ADL 1994 report, *Extremism in the Name of Religion, The Violent Legacy of Meir Kahane*

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I acted alone, but maybe with God.

- Yigal Amir, the 25-year-old law student who assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

I did not commit the act to stop the peace process, because there is no such thing. It is a process of war, and the murder was my obligation according to halakha (Jewish law).

It's very interesting how everyone unites over the killing of a prime minister who groveled before all the states of the world. [Rabin] had no national honor. He was responsible for only 98 percent of the state, and about 2 percent he did not care. Such a prime minister is not a prime minister to me.

It's very interesting how an entire people never noticed that (Rabin)'s setting up a Palestinian state with an army of terrorists that he will have to fight in less than half a year, a year, and everyone is shocked over the killing of a Prime Minister who groveled before all the countries of the world.

- Yigal Amir's November 6, 1995, statement in defense of his actions.

We admire this lad for his sincerity, for standing behind his words... This man Rabin is responsible for the murder of hundreds of Jews and is another victim of peace.

Therefore, there must be an end put to this destructive process which is causing a great deal of tension and has now led to the assassination of Rabin.

- Avishai Raviv, head of Eyal, speaking of Yigal Amir.

We have watched all those Jews grieving over the killing of Rabin, and we would like to surprise the world with the news that many Jews are glad.

- Moshe Gross, organizer of a hotline in Brooklyn to collect funds for Amir's defense..

I. THE ASSASSINATION OF YITZHAK RABIN INTRODUCTION

The two bullets from an assassin's pistol that killed Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on Saturday night, November 4, 1995, shattered not only the festive post-Sabbath air of a Tel Aviv political rally, but also a cherished taboo of Israel itself - that the democratically elected leader of the modern Jewish State would never be harmed by a fellow Jew. The shocking murder horrified Israelis and millions of others, Jew and non Jew, around the world. But it also focused a glaring spotlight on a festering problem too long left unaddressed or avoided, perhaps because of its discomfiting repulsiveness and intractability: violent Jewish extremism.

In the wake of the assassination, there has emerged a growing recognition of the need to expose and counter this pernicious phenomenon, both in Israel and in the United States. Activists and supporters of such radical Jewish groups as Kahane Chai* and the Kach movement have engaged in disruptive or violent behavior and abusive and threatening rhetoric over the past ten years - as did the JDL before them. Rabin's confessed assassin, Yigal Amir, was a member of a highly secretive violence-prone group called Eyal (a Hebrew acronym which translates as "Jewish Fighting Organization"); the group's leader, Avishai Raviv, has also been charged with involvement in the assassination.

The problem posed by such violent Jewish radicalism has been exacerbated by controversial, provocative statements and religious rulings made by several Orthodox rabbis, both in Israel and the U.S. Examples include that of Rabbi Abraham Hecht of Brooklyn, who stated in June 1995 that it was permissible according to *halakha* (Jewish religious law) to kill Prime Minister Rabin because of the alleged danger to other Jews caused by his government's peace policies.** Many observers, including some within the Orthodox community, have condemned such statements as incitements to, or approval of, violence, and even murder.

Extreme elements (both religious and nationalist) among the West Bank settler movement have echoed such sentiments or issued threats against Rabin's life. It was amid the explosively heated atmosphere in Israeli society that was building since the 1993 Israel-PLO accord and fed by hateful, inflammatory accusations, recrimination and invective, that Yigal Amir committed his horrendous, fanatical act.

II. TWO BULLETS IN KINGS OF ISRAEL SQUARE

We face the saddest and most depressing of all decisions: to fight fellow Jews, who, regardless of their motives, stand against Judaism, against God's decrees, and, most important, therefore, threaten the entire Jewish people with the collective punishment that the Almighty has warned us about. The answer lies in ridding ourselves of the extremist version of 'love of Jews'. ...

**Kahane Chai* meaning "Kahane Lives," was formed by followers of the late militant Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League (JDL), after his assassination in New York in 1990. *Kach*, or "Thus," is the political party that Kahane and his followers formed in Israel. It was outlawed in 1994.

** Rabbi Hecht retracted his statement and sent a letter of apology to Rabin in late October 1995.

[The Torah] also speaks of the intense *mitzvah* [commandment] of **burning out the evil from our midst**. Indeed, the Rabbis of the Talmud bring down the verse 'And thou shalt love thy fellow Jew as thyself' **in order to explain why we must kill the Jew who is deserving of death in a humane way ...**

- Meir Kahane, August 1984.

On Saturday night, November 4, 1995, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was shot and killed by an Israeli Jewish extremist as he departed a peace rally in support of the Israeli-PLO peace accords attended by more than 100,000 people in Tel Aviv. The lone gunman, Yigal Amir, a 25-year-old law and computer science student at Bar Ilan University, attacked the 73-year-old Rabin in Kings of Israel Square in front of Tel Aviv's city hall after the Prime Minister stepped off a massive sound stage where he had linked hands with others to sing "The Song of Peace." Rabin was struck down by two bullets fired into his back as he was entering his car. A third bullet injured one of his security guards.

Subsequently, on Sunday, November 5, Israeli police arrested Amir's brother, Hagai Amir, 27, like his brother from the Tel Aviv suburb of Herzliya, as an alleged accomplice. Hagai Amir was said to have enhanced the hollow-point bullets used by his brother to slay the Prime Minister. He was also accused of hoarding a large cache of explosives.

On Wednesday, November 8, the next person to be arrested in the case was Avishai Raviv, 28, from the West Bank settlement of Kiryat Arab, also a student at Bar Ilan University, who studied with Yigal Amin Raviv was identified as the leader of a shadowy extremist group known as Eyal. He was alleged to have known about and encouraged the assassination of the Prime Minister.

One day after the arrest of Raviv, Israeli authorities arrested two more individuals alleged to have been involved in various degrees in the plot against Prime Minister Rabin's life. The two were Dror Adani, 26, from the West Bank settlement of Bet Hagai near Hebron, and Ohad Skornik, 23, from Tel Aviv, a fellow law student with Amir at Bar Ilan University.

On Friday, November 10, Israeli police announced the arrest of another suspect in the case, Michael Epstein, a 23-year-old student at Hadassah College in Jerusalem. The following day, Israeli authorities arrested Arik Schwartz, a soldier on active duty in the Israeli army, identified as in press reports as a sergeant in an elite army unit, who was accused of procuring weapons for Hagai Amir.

The arrests over the course of a week brought the total number of those held in the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin to seven.

Israeli police have expressed the belief that Rabin's murder was the result of a conspiracy. According to *The Washington Post*, investigators have concluded that Prime Minister Rabin's assassin belonged to a terrorist cell whose activity allegedly was endorsed by a "spiritual leader." At the time that this report went to press, no specific rabbi or other religious leader had been named.

Many observers have noted that the assassination took place in an atmosphere of hateful, violent rhetoric in both Israel and the United States, accelerated noticeably in the last two years. The following is a review of such recent statements:

III. EXTREMIST RHETORIC, 1994-1995:

May 27, 1994: New York - On the sidelines at the annual Salute to Israel Parade, Kahane Chai's U.S. head Mike Guzovsky and other members of the groups held signs calling Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin a traitor and Baruch Goldstein* a hero. Using a megaphone, Guzovsky taunted the Israeli representatives in the reviewing stand, saying: "In Israel, they can arrest us for wearing the star and fist [the symbol of Kach and Kahane Chai]. In America, there is the constitution. The Israeli dignitaries across the street can eat their hearts out."

May 31, 1994: New York - A flyer with Kahane Chai's telephone number on it asking, "Are Peres and Rabin Destroying the Jewish State?" concluded with the appeal:

Jewish brothers and sisters, **do not be silent** at the spilling of your people's blood!! Peres and Rabin are more concerned with getting the Nobel Peace Prize than with the security and well-being of the Jewish Nation. For them the lessons of the Holocaust are backwards and parochial. We **MUST** stop this suicidal 'PIECE PACT' before it plunges us into an abyss of mortal danger!!! [Emphasis in original]

November 25, 1994: New York - Mike Guzovsky and members of Kahane Chai held a protest across from the St. Regis Hotel where Prime Minister Rabin was speaking at an Israel Bonds event. At the hotel, the Kahane Chai protesters shouted, "**Rabin is a traitor**" and "No retreat from Jewish land." On the way to his limousine waiting outside the hotel, members of Kahane Chai sat in the street, blocking the motorcade. According to the *Jewish Press*, a newspaper sympathetic to Kahane Chai, "the demonstrators said Rabin's personal security guards used excessive and unwarranted force in their brutal attack against them ... Rabin, visibly embarrassed, turned a deep shade of red, smiled, and was hurriedly ushered into his car and away from the scene."

Speaking on behalf of the group, Mike Guzovsky declared, "**Rabin experienced a brief moment of fear, and that's good.** Perhaps he will now attempt to understand the ongoing fear of every Jewish mother in Israel, who does not have armed security guards to protect her children from Arafat's terrorist policemen. They live in fear wondering what new atrocity the Rabin-Arafat deal will bring, and who will be their next 'victim of peace.'"

December 16, 1994: Oslo, Norway - Ten members of Kahane Chai and the Jewish Defense League protested the awarding of the Nobel Prize to Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, and Yasir Arafat. Kahane Chai was described by the *Jewish Press* as having "brought two interesting props consisting of a life-size doll of Arafat being hung and a real-size doll of Rabin in handcuffs behind jail bars."

*Goldstein, a follower of the late Meir Kahane, entered the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron on February 25, 1994, and opened fire on a group of Muslim worshippers, killing 29.

January 24, 1995: New York - Responding to President Clinton's Executive Order which froze the U.S. assets of a number of Middle Eastern terror organizations, including Kach and Kahane Chai, Binyamin Kahane, son of the late Meir Kahane and head of Kahane Chai in Israel, declared at a press conference that the Executive Order is "**an insane analogy tantamount to comparing Bill Clinton to Adolf Hitler.**"

Mike Guzovsky, representing the group's U.S. branch, stated: "we are not going to close up shop ... because Clinton is giving in to a mad man in Israel - Rabin." He added: "We are going to step up our activities," and indicated that would include "sabotaging" the peace process.

In Israel, Kach spokesman Noam Federman declared: "We intend to fight Clinton in every possible way. We will continue to act," he vowed. "Nothing has broken us yet ... And nothing will. Not one branch will be shut down in Israel or the United States."

January 26, 1995: New York - Mike Guzovsky told the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* that comparing his organization to the Arab terror organizations that were affected by the President's Executive Order is "as insane as comparing Bill Clinton to Adolf Hitler."

In Israel, Baruch Marzel of the Kach movement accused the Israeli government of pressuring President Clinton to include Kach and Kahane Chai among the groups whose assets were frozen.

March 17, 1995: Israel - Members of Kach appeared on street corners in Israel selling a 500page book entitled *Baruch, the Man*, which glorified Baruch Goldstein. Members of the group claimed that the initial printing of the book - 6,000 copies - had been sold out and that 4,000 more copies were in the process of being printed. Israel Television reported that 400 copies of the book had been sold.

June 30, 1995: New York - Fern Sidman, Executive Director of the Committee Against Racism and Discrimination (CARD), an offshoot of Kahane Chai, declared that CARD was initiating a campaign to challenge the Executive Order. Sidman declared, "It is obvious to all Americans who believe in the U.S. Constitution that **Kach and Kahane Chai have been scapegoated at the request of Yitzhak Rabin who also pretended to be evenhanded by not exclusively targeting Arab terrorist groups.** However, it is a moral obscenity to compare Jewish groups that engage in peaceful protests and civil disobedience with terrorist groups who kill people every day."

June 1995: *The Judean Voice*, the electronic mail publication of Kach, announced that a memorial service for a previous episode of inter-Israeli violence was scheduled to be held on June 15 at the military cemetery of Nahalat Yitzhak in Israel. As a commander of the Palmach in 1948, Yitzhak Rabin was responsible for the Palmach units that fired on the *Altalena*, a supply ship that was being brought to Israel by their political rivals, the Irgun, led by Menachem Begin. Due to a breakdown of communication between the Irgun and the Palmach, the ship was fired upon by members of the Palmach under Rabin's command as it approached the shores of Tel Aviv. *The Judean Voice* vilified Rabin for his part in the incident:

In a recent documentary film about the *Altalena*, **Yitzhak Rabin and other commanders admit to committing this national crime.** One of the officers who was interviewed said that some of his soldiers were shooting at the heads bobbing out of the water, like it was a game. Rabin admits that his soldiers went mad when they heard Begin was on the boat. They wanted him dead and started shooting like lunatics.

So when people ask how Rabin is able to sign a treaty that is causing such needless bloodshed, it is important they know who they are talking about. **He could care less if all of his political rivals were massacred tomorrow.**

November 6, 1995: New York - Members of Kahane Chai at a memorial service honoring Meir Kahane wore buttons proclaiming, "**Yigal Amir, Jewish Hero.**" Mike Guzovsky justified the assassination, saying, "**Rabin was bad for Jews. He is over and he's gone. Rabin was assassinated by a Jew and the Arabs are sad. That tells you what kind of Jew Rabin was.**"

"I believe in the ballot over the bullet," Guzovsky continued. "**But we have no vote. I feel as badly for Rabin today as he felt for Kahane on the day he was murdered.** An intelligent man, one like this law student [Yigal Amir], had to act. **Kahane would be troubled about Jews killing Jews. He wouldn't mourn Rabin.**"

Within days of the assassination, a telephone hotline unaffiliated to Kahane Chai was established to raise funds for Yigal Amir's defense. The hotline's taped message refers to Rabin as "an extreme radical racist who hated religious Jews" and calls for performing "**a great mitzvah of redeeming this great Jewish hero, Yigal Amir.**" The hotline is reportedly receiving 60 to 70 calls an hour, according to its organizer, Moshe Gross

IV THE HEBRON MASSACRE AND ITS AFTERMATH

When I am Prime Minister [of Israel], many Arabs will leave willingly. Those leaving willingly will be compensated for their property. Something the Arab countries never did for the 800,000 Jews who left them. For the others, I will forcibly throw them out.

- Meir Kahane, interviewed in the *Boston Jewish Times*, January 1985

I recognize the submachine gun's right to speak, the knife's right to speak.

- Mike Guzovsky, also known as Yekutiel Ben Ya'akov, an Israeli follower of Kahane, demanding revenge for Kahane's murder, November 1990.

[Baruch Goldstein] did what he did out of a love for the Jewish people ... We don't condemn anybody who is targeting the enemies of the Jewish people.

- Mike Guzovsky, leader of Kahane Chai in New York, reacting to the February 1994 Hebron massacre.

Baruch Goldstein, before he did this thing, was one of the holiest Jews that I knew. He was something very, very holy. He was a saint.

- Baruch Marzel, leader of the Kach Movement in Israel, interviewed at his underground hideout, March 29, 1994.

AN APPALLING ACT OF FANATICISM

On February 25, 1994, during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, Baruch Goldstein, a follower of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, opened fire on a group of Muslim worshipers at the Tomb of the Patriarchs Mosque in Hebron, killing 29. As the result of this tragic massacre, attention has once again been focused in on the extremist ideology of Kahane and his adherents.

On March 14, 1994, Kach, Meir Kahane's political movement, and Kahane Chai, the movement founded after his death, were officially banned by the government of Israel as illegal terrorist organizations. Even before that, the Israeli government had taken a number of steps to impede the violent actions and strident racism of their members. In the days following the incident, the Israeli Army ordered the immediate arrest of five leaders of Kach, and Kahane Chai. Four days after the organizations were outlawed, a total of seven leaders and activists of Kach and Kahane Chai had been placed under administrative detention, 25 had their weapons confiscated, and 18 had their movements restricted, specifically banning them from Hebron and the Cave of the Patriarchs.' Approximately another 40 were scheduled to have their gun licenses revoked.

Within days of the banning, all of the leaders of the Kach and Kahane Chai movements had been arrested, with the exception of Baruch Marzel, the leader of Kach, who was arrested on April 4, 1994. On March 1, 1994, Noam Federman, the spokesman for the Kach movement, was placed under administrative detention along with Ben-Zion Gopstein, described as a "central activist" in the movement?' A week later, Tiran Pollack, who heads an offshoot of Kach called the "Committee for Road Security," was also placed under administrative detention." On March 11, 1994, Kahane Chai leader Binyamin Kahane was convicted of assaulting policemen at a Kahane Chai demonstration in the Arab town of Umm al Fahm. He was sentenced to nine months in prison and a nine-month suspended sentence." On March 14, 1994, Baruch Bar Yosef, another Kach activist, was placed under administrative detention.' Michael Ben Horin, the self-proclaimed "President" of the "State of Judaea" was also placed under administrative detention on the same day for his remarks praising the actions of Baruch Goldstein." On March 17, 1994, it was announced that 20 more weapons confiscation orders and 10 more orders for restriction of movement would be put into effect.

Responding to these measures, the Kahane Chai movement declared the Israeli government's orders that their members turn over their weapons to the authorities as "illegal" and warned that "by its recent actions, the government is pushing [the Kahane Chai movement] to comprehensive civil disobedience."

ISRAEL'S GOVERNMENT REACTS: "SENSIBLE JUDAISM SPITS YOU OUT"

Reacting to the Hebron massacre, Prime Minister Rabin condemned the extremist ideology of Baruch Goldstein and those who were sympathetic to his actions:

I am shamed over the disgrace imposed upon us by a degenerate murderer. You are not part of the community of Israel. You are not part of the democratic camp which we all belong to in this house, and many of the people despise you. You are not partners in the Zionist enterprise. You are a foreign implant. You are an errant weed. Sensible Judaism spits you out. You placed yourself outside the wall of Jewish law. You are a shame on Zionism and an embarrassment to Judaism.

Under Israel's Defense Emergency Regulations of 1948, orders to revoke gun licenses, administrative detention, and restriction of movement are among the measures that have been taken against Kach and Kahane Chai members. Other measures include: dismissal of such individuals from military duty, increased surveillance of the organizations' members, including the use of wiretapping, the confiscation of the organizations' property, the closing down of all of the organizations' meeting places, prohibiting any fundraising or public identification with the organizations, and prohibiting the distribution of any organizational literature. In addition to these measures, the Israeli Government considered the possibility of barring foreign members of the two organizations from entering Israel. This last measure is being reconsidered in the wake of the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

AN ONGOING PATTERN: KAHANIST VIOLENCE IN ISRAEL

The assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the horrendous events in Hebron and their aftermath more than a year ago are not the first examples of Kahane-style violence and fanaticism in Israel in recent years.

In January 1994, a New York-based journalist was allegedly assaulted by members of Kahane Chai in the town of Kfar Tapuah, a settlement founded by followers of Kahane. (The journalist told the Reuters news agency that he was not injured.) A fax statement sent to the Reuters news agency by Kahane Chai asserted that the journalist "was one of the leaders in the witch hunt against Rabbi Kahane." The Kahane Chai statement took responsibility for the attack, specifying that members of the group "attacked and beat" the journalist. "Kahane Chai members say that this 'payback' was long overdue and couldn't resist the opportunity when [the journalist] actually had the audacity to enter the settlement."

On December 10, 1993, three Palestinian Arabs were killed in a drive-by shooting outside the Arab village of Tarqumiya, near Hebron. An organization calling itself the "Sword of David" claimed responsibility. When asked about the incident by the press, Kach spokesman Noam Federman claimed no knowledge of the group, but refused to condemn the incident, saying, "God forbid. Jews cannot condemn something like that. Every morning when I wake up I pray with great intent for vengeance on the Gentiles."

In November 1992, a grenade was tossed into the open-air Arab butchers' market in the Old City of Jerusalem, killing one Palestinian and wounding eight others. Twenty minutes before the explosion, a Kahane Chai representative telephoned an Israeli newspaper to claim responsibility for the attack. In July 1993, four members of Kahane Chai were arrested by Israel's internal security service, the Shin Bet. Kahane Chai pledged legal assistance to the four. The four were convicted and sentenced in 1995. (See Chronology for additional details.)'

During the 1992 election campaign, two Kach Movement members were arrested after attempting to punch then Labor Party leader Yitzhak Rabin during a visit to Mahane Yehuda, Jerusalem's open air market. Rabin was not injured, but one policeman was wounded in the head during the scuffle.

In June 1991, a member of the Kach Movement, Pinhas Asyag, confessed to Israeli police that he tied two Palestinian shepherds to trees and stoned them to death in January and April. Asyag claimed that the murders were in "retaliation" for the deaths of Jews killed during the Palestinian uprising.

And a decade earlier, in a 1982 incident similar to the recent Hebron massacre, a follower of Kahane's Kach Movement in Israel, Alan Harry Goodman, entered the Al-Agsa Mosque in Jerusalem - the ancient site of Solomon's Temple - and shot Muslim worshipers there, killing one and wounding many others. Kahane described the shooting as "courageous" and stated that the Kach would pay Goodman's legal fees.

In the classic signature to all violent JDL-related incidents, Kahane refused to take responsibility for the act, but would not condemn it: "I don't condone and I don't condemn. Out of ... anger, he did what he did." Kahane further described Goodman as "insane, but the act is separate from the person. And the act was perfectly correct." In the same year, another Kach follower, Yoel Lerner, was convicted of plotting to blow up the Al-Agsa Mosque, and sentenced to two and a half years in prison.

In spite of the publicity that the Kahanists have received, theirs is a tiny movement that both here and in Israel remains beyond the bounds of the mainstream. Israel's internal security service, the Shin Bet, has estimated in 1994 that both Kach and Kahane Chai have no more than several hundred supporters throughout the entire country, with hard-core members who engage in violence numbering several dozen."

V BACKGROUND OF THE MOVEMENT

Over the past 26 years, Kahane's movement has demonstrated a clear and strikingly consistent pattern of extremism and violence, in Israel and in the U.S. In order to more fully understand recent Kahanist-related events in a broader perspective, it is important to review developments leading up to them in terms of both history and ideology.

IDEOLOGY: VIOLENCE AS A "DEFENSE"

We plan to do everything we can to stop the peace process. All of Shimon Peres' fantasies will be washed away in a river of blood."

- Baruch Marzel, a Kach leader, December 1993.

The Kahanist movement - comprising the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO) in the United States, the Kach (Hebrew for "thus" or "this is the way") Party in Israel, and the Kahane Chai ("Kahane Lives") group, founded after Kahane's murder and operating both in Israel and in the U.S. - has spanned 26 years, reflecting a consistent agenda of hate, fear-mongering and intimidation.

From his founding of the Jewish Defense League in July 1968 until his murder in New York in 1990, at the hands of an Islamic extremist, Rabbi Meir Kahane consistently preached a radical form of Jewish nationalism which reflects racism, violence and political extremism. Kahane's political ideology combined an ominous interpretation of contemporary events with a fierce sense of Jewish identity, and centered on rejecting any notion of compromise between Jews and non-Jews in America, and specifically Jews and Arabs in Israel.

In the U.S., Kahane advocated the establishment of training camps and schools where young Jewish men and women would learn his brand of Judaism combined with martial arts and weapons training to prepare themselves to "defend" Jewish communities across the country. In making these arguments, he asserted that violence was an integral, ancient part of Jewish "tradition." His JDL, therefore, was for him somehow a reincarnation of the proud Jews of ancient times:

The JDL knew where it was: at the side of the Jew who cried out. And if the only way to help him was through violence, the JDL was prepared to lay aside the Jewish book and raise the ancient Jewish fist.'

During the 1970s and 1980s, the JDL viewed its attacks against Soviet and Arab diplomatic personnel in the U.S. as justified acts of vengeance for the persecution that Jews faced in those countries. More recently, in addition to appointing themselves as vigilante defenders of oppressed Jewish communities, Kahanists have increasingly interpreted the movement's role as that of a violent critic of Israeli government policies of negotiation or compromise with Arabs. As a consequence, targets of the JDL, Kach and Kahane Chai have included leading figures in Israel as well as Jews and Jewish organizations that support such policies of the Israeli government or who disagree with the JDL's violent tactics and philosophy.

Kahane saw contemporary events as being merely a prelude to the downfall of Jews in the United States, leading to a new Holocaust. Exploiting what he viewed as the lessons of Jewish history spanning the last two millennia, Kahane instilled in his followers a pervasive sense of fear of an ever-present, suffocating anti-Semitism. Kahane regarded only himself and his followers as the true standard bearers of Judaism while condemning mainstream American Jewish leaders and the government of Israel as

"traitors" for not defending Jewish interests with enough vigor. In truth, Kahane took the concept of "defense" to an extreme by advocating acts of vigilantism and premeditated violence as his movement's means to that end.

Adapting the notion of "fighting back" to his own ends, Kahane re-defined the historical concept of Jewish martyrdom to reflect his own ideology. He rejected the traditional image of the Jewish martyrs throughout history who refused to forsake their religion on pain of death. Instead, he focused his attention on the fact that the Jews who became martyrs were unable to defend themselves. Looking with disdain at this inability as somehow being a disgrace, Kahane blamed the victims, suggesting that "[m]aybe - just maybe - nice [Jewish] people build their own road to Auschwitz." Advocating his own concept of Jewish martyrdom, Kahane interpreted his followers' aggressive acts of vigilantism as "sanctification of God's Name."

EARLY KAHANISM IN THE U.S.: A VISION OF IMPENDING DISASTER

"Every Jew a .22"
- JDL slogan, 1971

For those Jews who would remain in the United States, Kahane envisioned a period of brief prosperity followed by economic disaster and the rise of virulent anti-Semitism. Kahane portrayed the violence and anti-Semitism of black rioters in Brooklyn during the late 1960s as an indication of things to come. In his 1971 book, *Never Again!*, Kahane painted a dark view of the future of Jews in the United States, asserting that "the seeds of holocaust are already sown." Evoking a parallel between the United States of the 1970s and Germany of the 1930s, Kahane asked, "Will they grow into noxious, choking weeds that will strangle America?"

In his efforts to win new supporters, Kahane and his followers have constantly compared the current situation of Jews in the United States to that of the Jewish community in Nazi Germany prior to World War II. With the view that every anti-Semitic incident that occurs in the United States is merely a foreshadowing of the next Holocaust, Kahane claimed to be sounding a wake-up call to all Jews in America that they must fight back before history inevitably repeats itself.

Whipped into a frenzy of desperation at the impending disaster that seems to be looming ahead, Kahane's followers have turned to violence as an expression of their worldview. In his second book, *Time to Go Home*, Kahane provided the following ominous forecast:

There is a dark cloud on the horizon of the American Jewish future. It signals a storm such as we have never seen. It warns of the beginning of the end for the American Jewish community. The time to leave is now, before it's too late. It is time to go home, to return to the land of Israel.

Having painted a scenario of doom for the American Jewish community, Kahane portrayed himself and his followers as the only hope, the only true exemplars of the Biblical Jews. In the last chapter of *Never Again!* he recommended that all American Jews move to Israel to rediscover their identity and escape the impending disaster. For those who would remain behind, he declared,

If the ultimate threat to Jewish survival comes from the existence of powerful extremist groups who will reap the whirlwind of hate, frustration and fear of our times, **it is imperative that the Jew mount a massive and total war on these groups and their existence.**

As noted earlier, in order to attract supporters in the United States, the JDL and its descendants have promoted themselves as heroic "tough" Jews who are prepared to serve as "guardians" of the Jewish community. However, Kahane at times deemphasized the aggressive and intimidational aspects of the JDL's program, and accentuated the concepts of Jewish brotherhood and communal responsibility. At other times he promoted the JDL's tough image, denouncing the mainstream Jewish community and U.S. law enforcement agencies as being unwilling or unable to protect Jewish neighborhoods, concluding that only Jews themselves - in the guise of the JDL - could adequately fulfill the task.

To this end, Kahane and his supporters established a summer training camp in May of 1969 where "most of the teenagers ... fire weapons and learn the refinements of hand-to-hand combat for the first time and not for the sport of it. They come from the meanest sections of New York City. When this eight-week camp is over they will go back to the same streets ... They are going through the grueling punishment at the camp because they believe Jews in the United States are fighting for survival. Their organization, the Jewish Defense League, promises that the Jew will no longer play the patsy."

Throughout his writings and public appearances, Kahane emphasized his notion of "Jewish Power" which he justified as reasonable acts of "defense" against anti-Semitism. In his fourth book, *The Story of the Jewish Defense League*, Kahane concluded his chapter on "Violence" by writing:

**Vandals attack a synagogue? Let that synagogue attack the vandals.
Should a gang bloody a Jew, let a Jewish group go looking for the gang.
This is the way of pride, not evil pride, but the pride of nation, of kinship -
the pride of the mountain.**

In one of its earliest attempted attacks against Arab interests, the JDL mirrored the tactics of PLO terrorists at that time. On September 28, 1970, Avraham and Nancy Hershkovitz were arrested at Kennedy Airport in an alleged plot to hijack an Arab aircraft. At the time of their arrest, they were each carrying two loaded guns and false passports. In addition to the firearms, Nancy Hershkovitz had a grenade taped to her right thigh with a string tied to the detonation pin of the grenade. Described as a former "manager" of the Jewish Defense League office in Brooklyn, Avraham Hershkovitz and his wife of six months were both publicly acknowledged by Meir Kahane to be members of the JDL. "We will give them every possible help ... both legal and financial," Kahane stated, elaborating that he would assist "any person who has had any tie with the organization. They were later indicted and each pleaded guilty to a charge of passport falsification.

Contrary to Kahane's projection of the JDL as Jewish "guardian angels," a group of JDL leaders in 1971 resigned from the group because of the JDL's offensive tactics of violent intimidation, which they characterized as "bullying and bombing." Rabbi Marvin Antelman, a founder of the group's Boston chapter, and seven New England area

leaders of JDL resigned in January 1971. Antelman denounced the JDL, saying, "I did not think that the situation confronting world Jewry had deteriorated to the point where acts of a lawless nature were justified."

Since the group's inception, mainstream Jewish community organizations in the United States have denounced the JDL's tactics and rebuffed any contact or cooperation with the organization. The JDL's disregard for human life as expressed by its violence has appalled members of the Jewish community across the spectrum, and has led its representatives to consistently condemn the JDL's actions as immoral and inconsistent with Jewish tradition.

A "TWO-TRACK" OPERATION: KAHANISM SPREADS TO ISRAEL

"Death to the Arabs!"

- Slogan chanted by Kahane supporters after his election to the Knesset in 1984.

The attacks by Arabs against Jews constantly are a thing against which revenge must be taken. I have pleaded with members of Kach not to take such actions, not because it's a bad thing but because they have no support. It's a suicidal thing. But whoever does it certainly is committing an act of sanctification of God's name.

- From an interview with Kahane in *The Washington Post*, March 8, 1984.

Once Kahane arrived in Israel in 1971, he began operating on two "tracks." In Israel, he adjusted his ideology to reflect the new reality under which he lived - i.e., an independent Jewish state. Veering away from the notion that Jews could save themselves by emigrating to Israel, Kahane reinvented his vision of looming disaster. Kahane transferred the roles of his Jewish and non-Jewish opponents in America to those who opposed him in Israel. Rather than accepting the authority and protection of Israel's government and security forces, Kahane directed his previous criticisms of American Jewish leaders to the government of Israel.

Regarding Israel's government as unwilling or unable to cope with incidents of violence directed at Israeli Jews by Arab terrorists, Kahane continued to call for acts of vigilantism, this time against Arabs. Replaying the events of World War II in a Middle Eastern setting, Kahane cast the Arabs as Nazis, the Israeli government as quislings, and the rest of the world as indifferent. Employing this scenario, Kahane and his followers portrayed themselves as the only Jews willing to save the State of Israel from itself.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Kahane developed a hard core of supporters in Israel who were determined to fulfill his vision of a Jewish state that would not tolerate the presence of Arabs. At the same time, he continued to promote his notion of "transferring" Arabs out of Israel among his American supporters in two of his later books, *They Must Go* and *Uncomfortable Questions for Comfortable Jews*. Illustrating this philosophy, Kahane once stated: "I want to remove the Arabs of Israel because I do not want to kill them every week as they grow and riot."

U.S. ACTIVITIES CONTINUE

Meanwhile, in the U.S., Kahane's followers were operating on the American "track"; with the approval and inspiration of their leader, they continued their aggressive, intimidational behavior - with actions often directed against other Jewish organizations.

After Kahane's emigration to Israel in 1971, his American followers split into a number of smaller factions. Kahane officially resigned from his position as head of the JDL in the United States on April 17, 1974. The JDL's New York chapter fell apart, only to be replaced by groups such as Victor Vancier's Jewish Direct Action, and the Jewish Defense Organization led by Mordechai Levy. In California, the JDL retained its name and promoted Irv Rubin as the "national" leader of the organization. Another U.S.-based group, Kach-International, coordinated Kahane's periodic speaking tours and fund-raising efforts for his party in Israel. Since Kahane's murder, an effort has been made to rejuvenate the movement.

Kahane himself was in no way divorced from the violent actions of his American followers, even after he moved to Israel. In June 1973, Kahane revealed that he had instructed his followers in the U.S. to kidnap a Soviet diplomat to forestall a U.S.-Soviet summit meeting, and to blow up the vacant Iraqi Embassy in Washington. Before he left the United States for Israel, Kahane was convicted in July 1971 for making a firebomb, and received a sentence of five years' probation.

In November 1974, Kahane was convicted in Israel of arms smuggling, arising from a plan to organize a counterterror group in Europe to fight Arab terrorists. In the U.S. several months later, in February 1975, Kahane was found guilty of violating the terms of his probation. He was sentenced to a one-year prison term stemming from the plan to kidnap a Soviet diplomat and bomb the Iraqi Embassy.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the now familiar pattern of Kahanist violence continued in the U.S. For example, on May 24, 1972, in an apparent effort to disrupt U.S.-Soviet relations, four individuals, two of whom were reported to be members of the JDL, were arrested and charged with bomb possession and burglary in a conspiracy to blow up the Soviet Mission to the U.N. At the time, President Nixon was on an official visit to Moscow.

The arrests were announced by acting Attorney General Richard Kleindienst. On August 4, 1972, the two JDL members pleaded guilty. One was sentenced to serve a three-year prison term, and the other was sentenced to serve a year and a day.

Demonstrating the group's differences with mainstream Jewish organizations, the JDL staged takeovers and sit-ins at the offices of Jewish organizations and synagogues, disrupting their operations and in some instances causing extensive damage to furniture and equipment. Some of the organizations victimized by such JDL tactics included: the Park Avenue Synagogue (May, November 1970, January 1973, April 1976), B'nai B'rith in Washington (March 1975), San Francisco Jewish Welfare Federation (April 1975), Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (August 1975),

Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) (November 1976, September 1981), National Conference on Soviet Jews (February 1976), Hebrew University and Friends of the Hebrew University (June 1980), Herut, the United Zionist Revisionists of America (July 1980), Israel Aliyah Center in Queens, New York (August 1980), World Zionist Organization (September 1981), National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (January 1982), Consulate of Israel in New York (April 9, 1982).

The organization also engaged in attacks against Soviet artists and performance troupes, often in the middle of a performance. In November 1979, a member of the JDL set off a "smoke bomb" inside Carnegie Hall during a performance of a Soviet orchestra. The JDL later claimed responsibility for setting off the device'

In November 1986, Victor Vancier,* the self-proclaimed leader of the JDL in New York, was arrested outside the Penta Hotel with a tear gas grenade after a fire broke out in the tunnels under the hotel where the Soviet Moiseyev Dance Company was performing. Vancier was charged with a Federal weapons violation. Vancier was later sentenced to a ten-year prison term for bombing attacks at the Soviet diplomatic residence in New York, as well as for attacks against Soviet cultural performances.

Several months later, in April 1987, Murray Young, another JDL member, was arrested for his involvement in two attacks that took place at the Metropolitan Opera House and Avery Fisher Hall. Among the items that police confiscated were: a semi-automatic machine gun, handguns, rifles and two stun guns, as well as ammunition, tear gas canisters, explosive powder, stink bombs and "detailed records about bombs directed at organizations affiliated with the Soviet Union." He received a five-year prison term.

More recently, in February 1992, a bomb exploded outside the Syrian Mission to the U.N. at 2:07 a.m. Damage to the building included a shattered plate glass window near the building's entrance, and a two foot-hole in its entryway. There were no injuries. Several hours later, an identical bomb was found inside a cardboard box within a telephone booth on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. A note found with the first bomb was destroyed by the blast, but the second note read, "Free Syrian Jews."

Later in the day, a man identifying himself as a member of Kahane Chai contacted the Associated Press and claimed responsibility for the bombing. Subsequently, the group made a statement denying responsibility for the bombing but did not condemn it. Binyamin Kahane, the director of Kahane Chai, offered a written statement which declared: "We hope this incident will serve as a warning and deterrent to Syria and to Syrian-backed terrorists that the long arm of Jewish vengeance can reach them too."

* Vancier hosts two New York-area cable television programs called "Positively Jewish" and "the Jewish Task Force," where he expresses vicious animosity against African-Americans, Arabs and non-Jews in general.

AND ON THE ISRAELI "TRACK"...

During this period, Kahane-style extremist activity was likewise continuing in Israel. In 1980, an aide to Kahane denied responsibility for, but expressed approval of, bombing attacks on two Arab West Bank mayors by Jewish extremists. Yosi Dayan told reporters that the bombings were "the tip of the iceberg" in comparison to what would happen if a 1978 proposed autonomy plan for the West Bank were enacted.

In October 1982, an American-born leader of Kach was sentenced to two and a half years in prison for conspiring to plant a bomb in the Al-Aghsa Mosque in Jerusalem. In January 1984, Kahane refused to condemn a similar unrelated attempt to bomb the mosque, declaring that the Muslim shrines atop the Temple Mount should be "dismantled" and the site returned to Jewish control. Characterizing the continuing existence of the Al-Aghsa atop the Temple Mount as unacceptable, Kahane stated, "The presence of Muslims in the most holy Jewish site is a sin."

In 1983, Kahane used the pages of the Brooklyn-based *Jewish Press*, the weekly that featured his columns since the inception of the organization, to publicly advocate what, in his view, should be done to the Al-Aghsa Mosque. "If I were Prime Minister," he wrote, "I would immediately end the desecration of the Name and remove the Muslims from the Temple Mount, site of the Jewish holiest place."

At a press conference in March 1984, Kahane publicly denied any personal knowledge of an attack in which four members of Kach were charged with wounding six Arab workers and committing arson against Arab property. Kahane announced at a press conference that the four were members of his movement, pledged "legal and public support" for them, and asserted that whoever had committed the act was "sanctifying the name of God."

KAHANE'S VIOLENT RACISM

Kahane called for "[a]n end to the Arab jackals who do not serve in national service or remotely pay the required share of taxes and who go into the Jewish night with money in their pockets seeking Jewish women. They defile the seed of the Holy People, they strike at the God of Israel through the daughters of His people."

- Meir Kahane, 1984

"We are sick of them. The Arabs are like an epidemic. They are the pathogens that infect us ... They [the Arabs] collaborated with the Nazis, and they will not rest until they have raped all our women and killed all our men."

- Baruch Goldstein, in a January 1994 interview.

A year after Kahane's election to a Knesset seat in 1984, the Kach Party was officially banned by the Knesset for "inciting racism and endangering security." Kach was banned from participating in the 1988 Knesset elections, and subsequently in the 1992 elections as well. Kahane's proponent of anti-miscegenation laws which would bar sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews in Israel was but one element of his political program. Violence against Arabs and Jews with whom he disagreed was another. During his tenure in the Knesset, Kahane used his position as a bully pulpit to advocate his views, vowing that he would "drive this country crazy"⁷⁶ and constantly advocated the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel. Responding to a reporter's query as to what Kahane meant by his political slogan, "Give me the power and I'll take care of them," Kahane responded:

I'll take care of them. What's so difficult about understanding that? I have a program in which I call for the transfer of Arabs out of Israel. Give me the power and I'll take care of them by transferring them out of Israel I have no intention of losing my country to Arab bullets or Arab babies.

Writing in the *Jewish Press*, Kahane described his vision of the "lesson" that Arabs would learn from him:

And the Arabs of Judea and Samaria will learn a lesson, a lesson of fear that will enter their bowels. And the lesson will spread to the refugee camp of Dohaisha, a lesson that stonings mean deportation to Jordan. And in Ramallah, soldiers will be freed of the criminal orders that prevent them from shooting and teaching the Arab the only lesson he understands: force.

Kahane's strident rhetoric against Jews who disagreed with him also continued to be a centerpiece of his speeches and writings in Israel. Expressing his views regarding Jews who, in his view, stood "against Judaism," Kahane said:

We face the saddest and most depressing of all decisions: to fight fellow Jews, who, regardless of their motives, stand against Judaism, against God's decrees, and, most important, therefore, threaten the entire Jewish people with the collective punishment that the Almighty has warned us about. The answer lies in ridding ourselves of the extremist version of "love of Jews . . .

Continuing in the same vein, Kahane wrote that the Torah speaks of Ahavat Yisrael, the commandment to love one's Jewish brother, but insists that the Torah

... also speaks of the intense mitzvah [commandment] of burning out the evil from our midst. Indeed, the Rabbis of the Talmud bring down the verse "And thou shalt love thy fellow Jew as thyself" in order to explain why we must kill the Jew who is deserving of death in a humane way ...

Illustrative of his views concerning what he defined as "foreign" culture, Kahane called for the purification of Israel from any vestiges of "gentilized" culture - both Arab and Western - blaming those Jews who would be tolerant of them as "desecrators":

Cleanse the Land of Israel of the foreign pollution of gentilized culture. The foreigners vomit their sickness onto us and we swallow it eagerly. We are to blame; we are the desecrators. Let us vomit them out and purge the Holy Land of all vestige of impurity.

In 1989, a year prior to Kahane's murder, members of Kach refused to condemn incidents of harassment reportedly carried out by members of the group against Jewish storeowners that employed Arab workers, and acts of arson against Arab-owned stores. One member of the group denied involvement with the incidents on Israel Radio, and justified the violence as the reactions of "citizens" against the shops employing Arabs."

KAHANE CHAI IN THE CATSKILLS

We're up to doing whatever we can to sabotage the Arafat-Rabin deal which will lead to the destruction of the State of Israel ... If violence has to be used to prevent this destruction of the Jewish state, so be it.

- Mike Guzovsky, leader of Kahane Chai in New York in a February 1994 interview

Although the activities of Kahane supporters in the U.S. diminished in the late 1980s and early 1990s, due to infighting among the various groups and the murder of its leader in 1990, the Crown Heights riots and opposition to the current peace process have served as flash points for the groups - particularly Kahane Chai - to recruit supporters. Members of the various groups have also made appearances at college campuses in order to confront anti-Semitic and anti-Israel speakers, also in an effort to gain new members. Over the past few years, Mike Guzovsky, the current leader of Kahane Chai, has been actively attempting to reestablish the group's training camps and network of supporters.

At a summer session of the Kahane Chai training camp in 1993 in New York's Catskill Mountains, some 120 "trainees" from the U.S., Canada and Britain participated in weapons drills, instruction in urban warfare, counterterrorism, fitness instruction, ideological lectures and Hebrew lessons. According to the Israeli daily Ma'ariv, the principles of the use of explosives was taught at the camp "only in theory."

Materiel at the camp is reported to include semiautomatic Kalashnikovs and hunting rifles. According to Guzovsky, after their training was completed, it was expected that some of the trainees would go to Israel in order to form part of the Kahanists' planned "Jewish Police" in the West Bank."

In a 1994 interview that he gave to the Israeli daily Ma'ariv, Guzovsky claimed to have 8,000 American supporters." Over the years, the JDL and its descendants have traditionally inflated the figures regarding their supporters and activists as part of the movement's recruitment propaganda. Law enforcement officials in the U.S. estimate that the U.S. followers of the group number no more than 150.°° Regarding Kahane Chai members who are "ready for the streets," Guzovsky was vague and contradictory: "I am telling you that we are ready with hundreds of men right now, but we have dozens of men ready for action." t

Under Guzovsky's leadership, Kahane Chai has signaled its support of a bombing incident directed against American Jewish supporters of the Middle East peace process. On January 5, 1994, between 2:30 and 3:30 a.m., one bomb was placed outside a New York building that houses Americans for Peace Now, Habonim, *Israel Horizons*, and the Progressive Zionist Caucus. It did not explode, but was later defused by police.

A second bomb, placed outside the building which houses the New Israel Fund, exploded but there were no injuries. Notes left with the bombs declared that a Jewish "civil war has begun."⁹¹ The notes also spoke of the "spilling of blood in Israel" and criticized the Israeli Government as being "too liberal."⁹² The notes were signed by the "Shield of David" and the "Maccabee Squad." A press release issued by Kahane Chai provided its traditional response subsequent to such incidents: the organization "denied responsibility" for the attacks, but "refuse[d] to condemn the act."⁹³ Responding to a reporter's query regarding the incident, Guzovsky said, "We don't condemn anybody targeting Jewish groups which, in our opinion, caused the deaths of so many Jews at the hands of Arab terrorists that they embrace."⁹⁴

THREATS AGAINST ISRAELI OFFICIALS: "WE WILL KILL YOU"

In contrast to the JDUs previous illegal activities in this country, Guzovsky asserted that he has undertaken an effort to ensure that all activities in the camp remain on the right side of the law. "We will not give them [i.e., the police] a single reason to touch us," he said, 'having already served two years in an Israeli prison on charges of planning to kill some of the Palestinian terrorists who were released in the 1985 prisoner exchange with Ahmad Jibril's organization and possession of explosives. Guzovsky seems determined not to repeat that mistake.

Nevertheless, Guzovsky maintained that the graduates of his Kahane Chai training camp will continue in the self-styled vigilantism of the JDL" Since the signing of the 1993 Declaration of Principles between Israel and the PLO, Guzovsky and members of Kahane Chai have escalated their strident rhetoric against the Israeli government. At a September 1993 airport rally protesting the return of accused Nazi war criminal John Demjanjuk to the United States, members of Kahane Chai chanted, "Rabin is a traitor, frees a Nazi Jew-hater."⁹⁸ In January 1994, Guzovsky warned in a television interview that "Israel is in a real serious danger, and Jews will fight back. I'm talking about a bloody civil war, which Rabin is potentially causing here."

Guzovsky and members of Kahane Chai have also threatened Israeli diplomats serving in the United States. At a Washington D.C. area synagogue, Guzovsky and other members of the group threw eggs at Israeli Ambassador Itamar Rabinovich and subsequently tried to attack him.⁹⁹ In a February 1994 television interview, Guzovsky called Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin "a Jewish traitor," and warned, "One day, with God's help, he and his representatives will be tried for treason."¹⁰⁰ Later in the interview, Guzovsky warned, "If violence has to be used to prevent this destruction of the Jewish state, so be it." According to Colette Avital, Israel's Consul General in New York, a sympathizer of Kahane Chai came up to her in a synagogue and threatened her: "Bitch, we will kill you."

In late 1993, members of the JDL from the U.S. and Kahane Chai and Kach in Israel were arrested for bringing arms into Israel. On November 29, 1993, Kach leader Rabbi Avraham Toledano was arrested in Israel as he arrived on a flight from New York for smuggling "military equipment," including gun silencers and telescopes, handbooks for the production of explosives, and equipment to manufacture bullets." Several weeks later, six Kach supporters were arrested for hoarding weapons and planning attacks against Arabs. Three of those arrested were American Jews; two were from the Philadelphia area and the third was from Miami. All of them were visiting Israel at the time.

Subsequent to the Hebron massacre, sympathizers and supporters of Kach and Kahane Chai defended Baruch Goldstein's actions as being "understandable." In the March 11, 1994, edition of the *Jewish Press*, Kach International published an advertisement in which it declared that it "greatly mourns the passing of our martyred member Baruch Goldstein." The advertisement went on to laud Goldstein as a "devoted disciple of our Martyred Leader, Rabbi Meir Kahane," and concluded its tribute by stating, "He gave his life to prevent the implementation of the suicide PLO pact."

CONCLUSION

The assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin demonstrates the disregard by the Kahanists and their ideological offspring for the most fundamental precept of Jewish tradition - the preservation of human life. Those who espouse Kahane's aberrant ideology have translated their words of hate into violent deeds directed against both Jews and non-Jews alike. By removing Judaism's most central tenet and by arrogating to themselves the right to reinterpret it for their own purposes they have violated both the substance and spirit of Jewish tradition.

The Kahanists and their followers have belied their dedication to that precept through their belligerent and extremist actions and rhetoric demonstrating that they are a cult of violence and racism who speak only for themselves. Their deeds and words of hate do not represent the majority of settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, and certainly do not represent the vast majority of the Orthodox Jewish and religiously observant Zionist community, whether in Israel, the U.S. or elsewhere, in whose interests they falsely claim to act.